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CONFERENCE ON
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CONFERENCE PROCEEDINGS

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INTRODUCTION

On December 12 and 13, 2000, the United States Agency for International Development's (USAID) Center for Development Information and Evaluation (CDIE) and the Office of Women in Development (G/WID) co-sponsored the *Conference on Intrastate Conflict and Women* at the Ronald Reagan International Trade Center in Washington, D.C. USAID organized the conference to discuss the findings and recommendations of a two-year assessment conducted by CDIE in cooperation with G/WID. These findings are outlined in the report "Women and Women's Organizations in Post-Conflict Societies: The Role of International Assistance."

This study was part of CDIE's ongoing research on the rehabilitation and reconstruction of societies ravaged by internal conflict. It consisted of a multi-country assessment of gender issues in post-conflict societies, focusing on the impact of intrastate conflicts on women, the types of women's organizations that emerged post-conflict, and the nature and emphasis of assistance provided by USAID and other donors to women's organizations.¹ The assessment included field investigations in Bosnia and Herzegovina, Cambodia, El Salvador, the Republic of Georgia, Guatemala, and Rwanda. The study resulted in 13 recommendations: eight for international donors and five for women's organizations.

¹ For the purpose of the study, the definition of 'women's organizations' is voluntary organizations that are led and managed by women for their own welfare.

The assessment focused on the following three sets of questions.

- What has been the impact of intrastate conflicts on women? How did these conflicts affect their economic, social and political roles and responsibilities? What are the major problems and challenges facing women in these societies?
- What types of women's organizations have emerged during the post-conflict era to address the challenges that women face and to promote gender equity? What types of activities do they undertake? What has been their overall impact on the empowerment of women? What factors affect their impact?
- What has been the nature and focus of assistance provided by USAID and other donor agencies to women's organizations? What are some of the major problem areas in international assistance to women's organizations?

In addition to sharing the findings of this study, the conference was also designed to provide a forum for other international agencies, non-governmental organizations (NGOs), and experts to share their own experiences on this important subject.² The two-day conference agenda included two

² The views expressed by international agencies, NGOs, and external experts are their own, and may not reflect the views of USAID.

main plenary sessions, fourteen panels, and discussions led by two dozen experts on gender, conflict, and the contribution of women's groups to post-conflict reconstruction. Many of the presenters were the lead investigators who participated in the study. Panelists discussed findings from the country studies as well as related crosscutting issues that were not part of the studies, such as psychosocial rehabilitation, internally displaced women, the role of mass media, child soldiers, and women's livelihoods. This report summarizes the highlights of the presentations.

Attending the conference were 193 participants representing other bilateral donors, multilateral donors, NGOs, academia, and policy centers from the United States, United Kingdom, Sweden, the Netherlands, Japan, Germany, and Norway.

Brady Anderson, former USAID Administrator; Thomas Fox, former USAID Assistant Administrator for the Bureau for Policy and Program Coordination (PPC); and Barbara Turner, USAID's Acting Assistant Administrator, Bureau for Global Programs, Field Support and Research, opened the conference.

PRESENTATION OF REPORT, PART 1: THE IMPACT OF CONFLICT ON WOMEN

In the first plenary session, Krishna Kumar, CDIE Senior Social Scientist and principal researcher of the study, presented the main findings on the gender implications of conflict. This included a discussion of the impacts of intrastate conflict on women and gender relations.

Main Findings of the Assessment

Physical Insecurity

The physical insecurity women experience during conflict is well documented and understood. Less known is the physical insecurity women experience during the early post-conflict period in which there is social disorganization of the family, widespread poverty, and an absence of social controls.

Post-traumatic Stress

Women involved in conflicts often suffer from combat fatigue—a form of post-traumatic stress—and other psychological illnesses resulting from the conflict and from sexual abuse. Many women who have been victimized are fearful or ashamed of asking for help. New approaches are needed to reach out to such women.

Female-Headed Households

Women head a significant number of post-conflict households because of the

death and dislocation of men. Their situation is often exacerbated by laws that refuse women the right to claim the property of deceased or absent males, such as husbands, fathers, or brothers.

Economic Role

Although many new jobs become available to women during conflict because of the death or dislocation of men, women also retain their previous duties in the household. This creates an added burden to women's daily routines.

Political Role

Women's political participation, including electoral representation and public and social service, often expands significantly during conflict and post-conflict periods. However, some of the gains may be lost when the conflict ends and men return.

Impacts on Women

Women Participating in Conflict

The issue of women combatants is just beginning to receive attention from the international donor community. Women's participation in conflict, either as soldiers or as support personnel, has significant implications for international assistance during the post-conflict transition. Demobilization, reconciliation, community rehabilitation and reconstruction, and psychosocial healing are just some of the

post-conflict social processes that donors must examine through the lens of a gender perspective where women have served as combatants.

In El Salvador, significant numbers of women were combatants and opposition leaders. Although women also worked within the opposition in more traditional positions such as nurse and cook, the new, nontraditional roles required radical alterations in women's lives, especially in the care of their children. Many were forced to send their children away while they fought and attempted to work their farms at the same time. Many women combatants suffered from rape and other sexual harassment from the El Salvadoran army.

Destruction of Families and Altered Care-Giving Roles

The destruction of families during conflict transforms gender relations and can eliminate some of the protections afforded women within the more traditional social order. For example, in Cambodia, mass killings eliminated entire families and the high number of male casualties left few marriageable men. In turn, the relatively greater number of women had the effect of decreasing their status, making it easier for men to add or change wives. The ensuing increase in polygamy led to further erosion in the status of women in the family.

The Rwandan conflict resulted in an increase in female-headed households from 25 percent of rural households before the genocide to 70 percent afterwards, although that figure dropped to 36 percent female-headed households upon the return of refugees over two years later. The wives, mothers, and families of the 130,000 Hutu men implicated in the genocide carry the burden of caring for these men in prison. Since very few cases have been tried in court, these men linger in jail and depend

on their families for food. Women must leave their children and homes daily to carry food to their male relatives, often at great distances.

In Georgia, men have refused to accept low-status entrepreneurial work but appear to be paralyzed by their inability to provide for their families. Women describe their men as "double traumatized"—once by the conflict and a second time by their inability to provide for their families. Given men's unemployment, women have the added job of providing for the family through work or their own small businesses. In 72 percent of all internally displaced families, women have become the primary economic providers, largely through selling and trading in bazaars and on city street corners. Although their earnings are helpful, 75 percent of women earned less than half of the monthly subsistence income level set by the Georgian government. These meager incomes were particularly demoralizing to women who had lived in relative prosperity before the conflict.

Increased Poverty

The impact of conflicts on women's economic wellbeing in already impoverished countries is great. While all household incomes drop, women's incomes are especially affected because of inequities in land tenure systems and their limited access to credit, education, skills training, and employment opportunities. Moreover, the destruction of basic infrastructure, massive population displacement, disruption of pre-conflict economic activities, and the new demographics of post-conflict society transform post-conflict economies.

In Cambodia, poverty disproportionately affected women. Poverty led many women into prostitution, and many families sold their daughters in order to survive. Single mothers, divorced women,

and members of polygamous households increasingly lived in poverty. The rise in polygamy meant that multiple families were forced to subsist off of fewer resources from the male “breadwinner,” although few men had enough income to support one family, let alone two or three. In addition, a large number of women became widows during the war with little hope of remarrying. Women-headed households were the most impoverished households in Cambodia.

War widows in Guatemala who remarried found it difficult to claim property inherited under their previous marriages. Similarly, former internally displaced women and those who came from war-affected areas in Guatemala have had problems settling post-war property issues.

Deterioration of Health

Deterioration of women’s health—both physical and psychological—was an invariable consequence of conflict in all the countries studied. Rape, used as a weapon of war, took the greatest toll on women’s well-being. In Bosnia, Croatia, and Serbia, for example, warring factions used rape as a symbol of conquering the territory of the enemy.

Combatants systematically used sexual violence to displace populations and to break down traditional and institutional mechanisms to protect women. Of the 1,500 individuals interviewed by the International Committee of the Red Cross in Bosnia and Herzegovina, one in nine knew a woman who had been raped or sexually assaulted. Other statistics indicate that three to six percent of women were raped.

In rural areas of west Georgia, women’s double burden of income generation and family care took a toll on their physical and mental health. Poor conditions among internally displaced

persons (IDPs) also led to an increase in disease among internally displaced women, most of who could not afford medical services.

Economic Opportunities

During the post-conflict transition, the new social and economic realities can offer women an opportunity to engage in non-traditional economic activities. In post-conflict Cambodia, despite the largely negative impact the war had on the population, women became engaged in what formerly had been men’s economic activities in the industrial sector. Women also took over men’s jobs in their absence during the conflict, thus providing women with new skills and experiences that carried over into the post-conflict period.

Political Participation

Post-conflict society also provided opportunities for increased political participation of women. In El Salvador, for example, women have been elected to more political posts than before the conflict. In Yugoslavia, women have founded peace advocacy and humanitarian organizations. Nearly ten years after the war began; women have developed wide networks of communication among women’s groups in all the successor states (Bosnia, Serbia, Croatia, Macedonia, and Slovenia) and in all sectors. In addition, the number of women in parliament has increased 300 percent.

Empowerment

Displacement and migration have had a profound effect on women’s traditional roles. In refugee camps and IDP camps, women have empowered themselves by forging new roles and identities and developing new skills to meet the challenges

of surviving displacement and dislocation. In Cambodia, for example, women gained valuable experience in refugee camps. This included exposure to the concept of women's rights through U.N. programs; experience implementing health, education, and skills training programs; and development of leadership qualities and increased self-confidence. Many of these women returned to Cambodia to form organizations to address the particular needs of women. In El Salvador, many of the women who settled in refugee camps in the eastern part of the country were able to learn new skills, including how to read and write and how to manage camp activities.

Recommendations

Build on Women's Economic and Political Gains

As the findings above illustrate, not all effects of intrastate conflicts on women and gender relations have been negative.¹ In fact, in all case study countries, conflict eroded many traditional gender divisions, creating new economic and political opportunities for women. In most countries, women were able to enter occupations that had previously been closed to them. Moreover, their political participation increased in community and local affairs. In many cases, they assumed the leadership of grassroots civil and political institutions.

USAID and other donors can play an important role in building on the progress made by women during conflict by designing and implementing programs that will further ameliorate the conditions of women and promote gender equality.

1 These are the recommendations cited in Krishna Kumar's report, Women and Women's Organizations in Post-Conflict Societies: The Role of International Assistance, Center for Development Information and Evaluation, USAID, Washington, DC, December, 2000.

Add Focus on Civilian Security

The decline of social control, disintegration of the community, poverty, increased unemployment, presence of demilitarized soldiers, and ineffectiveness of law enforcement tends to increase lawlessness and violence in post-conflict societies. Although all strata of society suffer, women and children are particularly affected. The international community has generally supported de-mobilization of ex-combatants, police reforms, and international monitoring of human rights to reform the security sector. However, the primary focus of its efforts has been political rights and political security rather than civilian security. Although the human rights situation had improved in all case study countries, civilian security remained a major problem.

USAID can assume a leadership role in highlighting the problem of civilian security and the need for concerted action. It can also encourage other agencies of the U.S. government, bilateral and multilateral agencies, and international NGOs to devise and implement programs that enhance physical security for women. Such programs could include security sector reforms, efforts to ensure greater representation of women in police forces and judicial processes, establishment of peace committees to prevent the eruption of violence, and special interventions for vulnerable youth.

Emphasize Cost-effective, Indigenous Approaches to Treat Traumatized Women and Men

International programs have tended to ignore the cultural and social contexts of the trauma, consequently proposing solutions that might not be effective for the victims. Moreover, programs are often short-lived because of inadequate long-term funding. Finally, international programs that

focus exclusively on women and children overlook interventions for abusive men and therefore they are ineffective in reducing violence against women and children.

USAID has supported cost-effective, innovative programs, based on indigenous approaches to psychological healing, to deal with traumatized children and child soldiers. It would be useful for USAID to examine its experiences and explore the possibility of expanding programs to include both men and women.

Make Concerted Efforts to Prevent Sexual Abuse of Women

The international community has implemented a variety of programs for helping sexually abused women in post-conflict societies. Because of the nature of sexual crimes and the social stigma attached to them, these programs frequently cannot reach intended beneficiaries. Nonetheless, such programs are important and should be supported. Another important role for donors is to support initiatives to educate communities in post-conflict societies about these crimes and prevent their recurrence.

Promote Microcredit with Caution

The experience in many case study countries indicates that microcredit programs have been quite effective. Although not exclusively targeted to women, the overwhelming majority of loans went to women. These programs appear to achieve the twin objectives of relief and development. However, such programs are no panacea for all economic problems facing women in post-conflict societies. They do not address structural barriers to women's economic advancement. Although microcredit programs can mitigate abject poverty, they do not promise sustained economic advancement. While supporting

microcredit programs, USAID should not ignore their limitations. It should push for removing structural barriers to the economic advancement of women.

Support Implementation of Property Rights Reform for Women

Women's lack of access to agricultural land and other productive assets is a major problem in post-conflict societies. Women are usually denied legal rights to land and other resources owned by their deceased husbands, fathers or other close male relatives. Consequently, widows and single women are unable to generate income to work their way out of poverty.

USAID has been a pioneer in pushing for property rights for women in post-conflict societies and should continue these efforts. It should focus not only on constitutional and legislative reforms but also on their implementation. It also is necessary to support initiatives designed to build public support for women's property rights and to support actions to help resolve bureaucratic inertia and resistance.

Promote Greater Women's Participation in Post-Conflict Elections

With the exception of Rwanda, post-conflict elections were held in all case study countries. Their main objective was to form governments with national and international legitimacy and that promoted the rehabilitation and reconstruction of the society. USAID and other donors provided major assistance to organize and conduct post-conflict elections. Although women constituted half or more of the electorate, only a small proportion were elected to national legislatures.

USAID should consider means to promote greater representation of women in

post-conflict elections, encourage political parties to field women candidates, and assist women candidates on a non-partisan basis.

Promote Political Participation of Women

As indicated earlier, post-conflict societies offer openings for women's political participation. Often democratic constitutions are adopted that mandate equality between men and women. Such constitutions also provide a legal framework for women's participation in the political arena. Because of their increased involvement in public life during conflict,

some women not only acquire leadership skills and experience but also become aware of their political rights and responsibilities. The international community has provided assistance to encourage women to participate in political affairs. Despite these developments, women's political participation has been limited.

USAID has supported women's political participation and should continue to do so with increased vigor. It should also consider providing long-term technical and material assistance to non-partisan women's advocacy organizations engaged in promoting women's participation in local and national affairs.

SUMMARIES OF THE PANEL DISCUSSIONS, PART 1

Genocide and Women in Rwanda

The chair of this panel was Richard McCall, Senior Advisor to the USAID Administrator. The presenters were Allison Des Forges, consultant for Human Rights Watch, and Catharine Newbury, Professor at the University of North Carolina - Chapel Hill.

Genocide and Its Effects on Women

Ms. Des Forges presented a brief historical overview, stating that Rwanda is characterized by entrenched poverty, an extremely high population density and land scarcity. The economy is 90 percent subsistence farming, and land is owned almost exclusively by men. In addition, before 1994, large tracts of land were used for commercial purposes, resulting in 16 percent of the population controlling 48 percent of the land. These difficult economic conditions worsened after the genocide.

Against this backdrop, Ms. Des Forges described the events of the genocide. A small, elite governing group planned violence against Tutsi and Hutu opposition members, importing machetes, establishing a militia, and developing an anti-Tutsi propaganda machine. Tutsi women, especially targeted for killing, were labeled “the ultimate seductresses” and three of ten Hutu commandments were directed against Tutsi women.

A Story of Resilience, Courage, and Hope

In recent years, women’s organizations have begun to have an impact on society, Dr. Newbury said. They have replaced absent government institutions and built on earlier grassroots initiatives such as rural microcredit programs. *Profemme*, an especially active women’s organization, responded to the needs of war-affected women by addressing their immediate social and psychological needs, advocating for women’s property rights, and promoting legislation on property rights in parliament. *Profemme* has been constrained, however, by the low profile accorded to women in shaping national economic policy, thereby diminishing the impact of the organization. In addition, the Rwandan government’s preoccupation with its military involvement in neighboring Congo has constrained public discourse on property rights.

Effects of Cambodian Conflicts on Women and Gender Relations

Jean Du Rette, Division Chief in the Program and Operations Assessment Division of USAID’s Center for Development Information and Evaluation, chaired the panel. Presenters were Hannah Baldwin, USAID’s Democracy and Governance Team Leader in Guinea and Judy Benjamin, Senior Technical Advisor on Gender for the

Women's Commission for Refugee Women and Children (replacing Judy Ledgerwood).

Women in Cambodia

The long-term impact of the Cambodian conflict, in which one to three million people died, was trauma, altered family roles, and changes in the nature of gender relationships, Ms. Baldwin explained. The study showed that family structures and women's lives were affected in several ways. First, mass killings eliminated entire families and the high number of male casualties left few marriageable men. In turn, the relatively greater number of women had the effect of decreasing their status, making it easier for men to add or change wives. Few men had enough income to support one family, let alone two or three. Second, men emerging from war and suffering from extreme poverty, unemployment, and loss of self-esteem were more inclined to be abusive to their wives and children. Third, a large number of women became widows during the war, with little hope of remarrying. Finally, women-headed households were the most impoverished in Cambodia.

Poverty also disproportionately affected women, according to the study. Divorced and single women and members of polygamous households lived increasingly in poverty, which in turn led many women and girls into prostitution. Education and health services did not reach as many females as males. Only just over half of all women were literate and less than half of all girls began primary education; those who did attended only an average of four years. Health services for women were poor or nonexistent and HIV/AIDS was rapidly increasing, with 13- to 20-year-old girls showing the highest infection rate.

While the impact of the conflict on Cambodian women was largely negative, it

did provide several new opportunities for women. For example, it allowed them to engage in what formerly had been men's economic activities in the industrial sector. Through the vehicle of women's organizations, it also created new opportunities for political participation at local and national levels. Moreover, women gained valuable experience in refugee camps, such as exposure to the concept of women's rights through U.N. programs; experience implementing health, education, and skills training programs; and development of leadership qualities and increased self-confidence. Many of these women returned to Cambodia to form organizations to address the particular needs of women. Cambodia's democratic transition, international NGO modeling, and international funding also contributed to these positive improvements.

Ms. Baldwin concluded with lessons for the donor community. Women need greater protection against rape and violence during conflicts and in refugee camps. International organizations also need to offer more skills training in refugee camps to encourage greater political participation and to increase capacity to meet needs upon return. Donors should help women's organizations conduct better internal management practices to foster sustainability, and they should provide multi-year funding.

Lessons from Cambodian Women

Ms. Benjamin raised the issue of domestic violence, which has become a prominent topic in post-conflict Cambodia. The discussion is fueled in part by media attention to cases where women who have been attacked with weapons have suffered permanent physical injuries. Ms. Benjamin remarked that the burden is on women to re-socialize men from a violence-dominated military mentality to one of respect for

women. This is even more difficult by the rise in polygamy and the fact that men tend to be more socially mobile. Ms. Benjamin suggested that organizations and donors involve men through surveys, focus groups, and participation in gender violence projects to help women transform gender relationships and reduce domestic violence.

Ms. Benjamin offered several general lessons learned through the Cambodia conflict. First, development agencies should design targeted interventions for women and avoid gender-blind programs. Second, they should remember that women experience poverty in different ways than men do. For example, girls are less likely to go to school than boys are, and women's social security depends on marriage. Finally, development agencies should consider the modalities for channeling assistance. Ms. Benjamin believed that they should provide aid for health and education through the government to ensure widespread effectiveness and implementation. At the same time, however, they should channel some assistance through women's organizations, especially those associated with group credit, vocational training, countering prostitution, and increasing political participation. This would help ensure cultural and programmatic appropriateness. Offering multi-year funding and longer periods of funding frames as well as linking programs to international NGOs would help build women's organizational capacity and increase sustainability.

Internally Displaced Women and Women's Organizations in Georgia

George Ingram, USAID's Deputy Assistant Administrator for the Bureau for Europe and Eurasia, chaired the panel. Alice Morton, Senior Evaluation Specialist for TvT Associates, Inc., and Thomas Buck of the

Academy for Educational Development were the presenters.

This panel discussed the results of the CDIE study of women's internal displacement and women's organizations in Georgia.

Impact of the Conflict on Internally Displaced Women

Mr. Buck explained that by 1992, Georgia had experienced three violent conflicts in the past decade, marked by political, social, economic, and ethnic upheaval and the displacement of 250,000 Georgians. Women were both victims of violent acts, including the use of rape as a tool of ethnic cleansing in Abkhazia, and participants in the violence, though few statistics exist on the number of female combatants. Both sides of the conflict used reports describing fierce women fighters to upset traditional images of women and, thereby, to legitimize violence against women.

Men demoralized by their inability to provide for their families, often turned to alcohol. Women, many of whom lived in relative prosperity before the conflict, attempted to at least partially offset men's unemployment by working in low-income jobs.

In rural areas of West Georgia, women increasingly performed seasonal agricultural work, particularly in areas near the Georgia/Abkhazia border where men were suspected of being combatants. The double burden of income generation and family care took a toll on women. Donors responded to the issue by establishing microcredit programs.

Few women had political power. Those who did were usually members of the former Soviet elite who were not supportive

of women's rights or issues. In addition to political disaffection, women's traditional views of their roles put pressure on them not to engage in political processes.

Georgian Women's Organizations

Most Georgian women's organizations were small and resource-poor, Dr. Morton noted. More than 1,000 women's organizations had been registered by the Georgian Justice Ministry, though only 50 to 60 were considered active. Several had decentralized and established offices in peripheral cities outside of Tbilisi.

Two facts contributed to the differences in levels of civic involvement between Georgia and other post-conflict societies. First, Georgia has a relatively high level of education of both urban and rural women. Second, its legacy as a former Soviet, centralized state hindered community involvement. Despite this latter constraint, women's organizations do exist and conduct such activities as psychosocial rehabilitation, general education, human rights education, civic education, and microcredit programs. In the areas of human rights and civic education, the study found two very different types of women's organizations. The first type addressed women's problems and issues by working directly with women. However, they did not deal with women's status through legislation and avoided involvement in the political process. The other type relied more on advocacy, working with women parliamentarians, women prisoners' rights organizations, and groups that addressed corruption issues from a gender perspective.

Effects of Guatemalan and El Salvadoran Conflicts on Women

Sally Yudelman, Senior Fellow at the International Center for Research on Women, chaired the panel. Alice Morton of

TvT Associates, Inc. (replacing Virginia Garrard-Burnett) and Kelley Ready, Visiting Assistant Professor at Northeastern University, were presenters.

Combat Role of Women in El Salvador

After 12 years of civil war in El Salvador, Dr. Ready began, the 1992 peace accords further changed the role of women, which had been shifting since the war began. Unlike many women in war-affected countries, El Salvadoran women became very active in the opposition (FMLN), with significant numbers of women serving as combatants and opposition leaders.

Many non-combatant women became heads of households in the absence of their men in combat. In the absence of government support, the extended family became the social safety net for women heads of households. Some men, however, were able to escape the military by emigrating to Mexico and other countries where they provided remittances from employment to their families.

The long-term effects of the war were more severe on women combatants in the FMLN than on El Salvadoran women in general. Many women combatants suffered from rape and other sexual harassment by the Salvadoran Army (though men of the FMLN were also sexually tortured) and from guilt, despite their apparent toughness. Many were forced to send their children away while they fought and attempted to work on their farms at the same time. During the war, fertility rates decreased due to the combat role of women, use of contraception, and abortions done by FMLN clinics.

In the post-war period, structural adjustment loans to El Salvador led to an increase in women's participation in the formal sector, on the one hand. On the other, women were excluded from the active post-war land reform efforts, and young

women of school age were often kept from an education.

In sum, El Salvadoran women played a unique role in both continuing the war and in ending it, though women peace advocates were called subversives in the post-war period. At the same time, women have been elected to more political posts than in earlier eras and have advocated for a strong political agenda, demanding reproductive and sexual rights and political representation through quotas as early as 1994.

Guatemalan Women and the War

Guatemala was under siege from 1954 through 1996, explained Dr. Morton. Following the 1970 violent attacks against the Maya Indians in the eastern part of the country, poor indigenous women became radicalized. The experience of war, including loss of spouses, rape, being captured and forced into slavery, and the government's selective repression in that region, also had a psychological impact on indigenous women. Women found their best option was often to join an opposition group and take a role in ending the war. In the late 1980s, during the negotiation period, indigenous women began participating in organizations in response to the war. These included grassroots organizations, indigenous organizations of displaced women, and transnational organizations.

Today, women still suffer from nightmares and chronic depression. Most of these are widows with a negative status, regardless of their family's alliances during the conflict. Widows rarely remarry and have become scapegoats for all people involved in the war, which has spawned a culture of "blame the widow." Moreover, war widows who do remarry have difficulty claiming property inherited under their previous marriages. Similarly, former internally displaced women and those who come from

war-affected areas have had particular problems in settling post-war property issues.

While a few women have been elected to Parliament, their political alliances were weak and their male counterparts dismissed the women's agenda. Combined with the government's indifference to the gender-related accords, the women's initiative is consequently faltering. This is despite such foreign assistance as the gender-integrated USAID Peace Program that supports women's mental health and provides other support for women's NGOs.

Reintegrating Refugees and Internally Displaced Women

The chair of this panel was Guenet Guebre-Christos, the Regional Representative of the U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR). Presenters included Roberta Cohen, Co-Director of the Project on Internal Displacement at the Brookings Institution, and Patricia Weiss Fagen, Senior Fellow at the Institute for the Study of International Migration at Georgetown University.

This panel explored the two types of displacement and the different conditions and assistance offered in each case, using Guatemala and El Salvador as examples.

Issues in the Reintegration Process

Ms. Cohen explained that people become displaced in one of two ways: either within their own country or as refugees seeking asylum outside their country. Although both groups are subject to the same violence and are forced to leave their homes, there are also profound distinctions. Foremost among the differences are the services available to refugees that are

generally unavailable to IDPs. Aid organizations often have difficulty gaining access to IDP populations because of insecurity in the area and their difficulty in distinguishing IDPs from their host families and the rest of the population. Insufficient assistance undoubtedly also stems from the absence of an international organizational locus for IDP issues. Although UNHCR often aids IDPs and their host communities in addition to refugees, the lack of a systematic focus on IDPs necessarily results in decreased attention and assistance.

Since IDPs often do not stay in camps and live instead with relatives or neighbors, the burden of support is on the host family and community. In addition to assistance for individual IDPs, Ms. Cohen called for the implementation of community-based support, where host families or whole communities receive aid. Dr. Fagen added that a community-based approach is less likely to create antagonisms between IDPs and their hosts. She also noted that these “hidden” IDPs often move to medium-sized towns and cities, where local officials are forced to deal with a swiftly growing population, an increase in female-headed households, and a rural population unprepared for city life.

Despite many differences, returning displaced women and refugee women often face similar gender-related problems: inability to inherit or own land, lack of attention to their psychological needs, and lack of security in resettlement. Moreover, reintegration does not necessarily signify the end to violence. On the contrary, ethnic tension, retaliatory violence, and criminal violence frequently increase after a conflict, and women who have lost their male family members are often unprotected. Furthermore, during conflict, women frequently suffer rape and physical violence or witness the murder of family members. This trauma is typically compounded by a loss of social and economic status when

male family members are killed. To address this, return efforts should integrate appropriate mental health programs and not treat them as a luxury service, Ms. Cohen maintained.

The inability of women to inherit property can cause severe economic dislocation for women who have lost male relatives during the conflict, Ms. Cohen explained. Even in those countries where property laws changed to allow inheritance, as in Rwanda, customary norms about ownership often remain the same. Agencies providing assistance to reintegrating refugees should make aid contingent upon a change in such laws, Ms. Cohen said.

Frequently, displaced and refugee women have learned skills while they were displaced. Although programs in areas such as health and education seek to empower women, many of the skills learned and gains made in displacement are lost upon return. Women who have received economic skills training need support upon return in the form of microcredit and aggressive assistance in finding employment. Ms. Cohen argued further that U.N. agencies should explicitly demand quotas for female employment and equal pay clauses as part of UNHCR-funded projects. However, although donors provide substantial assistance during a conflict, they are often slow to provide aid and to coordinate during this crucial reintegration phase. This can seriously undermine the peace process.

Internally Displaced and Refugee Women in El Salvador and Guatemala

Dr. Fagen elaborated on Ms. Cohen’s presentation in her discussion of El Salvador and Guatemala. She described a study examining the lives of Guatemalan women before, during, and after the conflict conducted by a local team of academics who had themselves experienced the wars.

Although women made some important gains while displaced, upon their return they encountered isolation, violence, limited access to education, and pressure to resume their traditional roles. Women were unhappy with the outcome of the peace process and still encountered significant unemployment, poverty, discrimination, corruption, and violence. Women concluded that, although they had experienced temporary empowerment, they had failed to make permanent changes for their children and society at large.

In both Guatemala and El Salvador, while the cultures had become more open, the socioeconomic factors of women's lives had changed little. For example, in Guatemala, men denied land access to their female relatives who had helped negotiate land-reform measures. Cultural conflict over appropriate gender roles emerged between the Guatemalan women who had remained in the country during the conflict and had cultivated a passive attitude to survive and the returning Guatemalan women with the new attitudes. The latter group, which had had the support of international groups, wanted continued support, but donors were wary of creating dependency. Some women described how the conflict took them from private to public spaces, but upon their return, they were unable to defend these new roles. Dr. Fagen reemphasized that the real impact of assistance to women may emerge only in the next generation.

Problems of Separated Children and Child Soldiers

Katherine Blakeslee, Director of USAID's Office of Women in Development, chaired this panel. Neil Boothby, Director of Children in Crisis at Save the Children, and Susan McKay, Professor at the University of Wyoming, presented.

This session addressed the societal problems posed by separated and unaccompanied children as victims of civil conflict and reviewed the conditions of child soldiers as both victims and perpetrators of civil war.

Defining Separated and Unaccompanied Children

According to Dr. Boothby, although unaccompanied children have always been part of civil war, the international community first began acknowledging the impact on children when the Cambodian Khmer Rouge movement left many children alone. Initial findings were anecdotal. A decade later, the international community was still unable to identify these children in a systematic and timely manner. Today, however, UNHCR has policy guidelines on separated children, and the identification process has improved significantly.

Successful stories of returning separated or unaccompanied children to their families following a civil war are now common. In Mozambique, for example, children of Frelimo soldiers returned from orphanages to their families through the work of an NGO coalition. Local organizations, including women's groups, were also involved, conducting grief-related programs, among other activities. In Rwanda, another example, many children were separated during the genocide and some found themselves in camps. Unlike in Mozambique, where donors responded quickly and efficiently, international policies undermined the effort in Rwanda to reunify children with their parents, said Dr. Boothby. Rwanda illustrated the potential for external agencies to become part of the problem, rather than of the solution.

Several lessons learned have emerged from studies of separated and

unaccompanied children. First, there are important distinctions between unaccompanied and separated children. Unaccompanied children are those who were not with their families at the time of an evacuation, whereas separated children became detached from their families during the conflict. Second, a child can become separated by different means, including voluntarily, accidentally, or through agency action. Third, it is important to distinguish between children who are alone but not necessarily separated from their family. Finally, the process of returning children to their families requires protection of the children, assistance to the family and community, attempts to preserve family unity, and evacuation only under proper conditions.

At the end of his talk, Dr. Boothby emphasized that the process of tracing children and reunifying them with their families requires institutional capacity building in donor agencies and local organizations and more effective donor coordination.

Girls in Militaries, Paramilitary, and Armed Opposition Groups

Dr. McKay began by saying that, although it is clear that girl soldiers in civil conflicts have distinct experiences and suffer more than non-combatant girls do, data sources on this subject are very poor. Girl soldiers are invisible in international discussions and policy statements. They are usually associated with worst-case scenarios, and information is usually based on hearsay knowledge. To address the lack of information on this subject, Dr. McKay is involved in a new study researching the experience of girl soldiers in Africa, Latin America, the Middle East, and Asia. The goal of her study is to raise awareness of girl soldiers which will in turn support advocacy network formation, policy making, and program initiatives and planning to address this issue.

A survey conducted in 39 countries found that both boys and girls were active as combatants in all countries. In 38 percent of the countries, girls joined government troops, and in 25 percent, they joined paramilitaries. The survey also found that in all 39 countries, girls joined opposition armies or forces and that girl soldiers were not only combatants but also served such traditional roles as cooks and porters. More information is needed, however. Dr. McKay's study intends to ask some of the following questions: How do these girls enter rehabilitation programs? What are the distinct needs of girls in rehabilitation? In addition, what kinds of cultural rituals are helpful in returning them to civil society?

Impact of Conflict on Gender in the Former Yugoslavia

Lael Stegall, President of Social Change International, chaired the panel. The presenters were Charlotte Lindsey, Director of Women in War Project at the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) and Marina Skrabalo, Program Assistant at STAR Network of World Learning.

Ms. Stegall noted the appropriate timing of this panel, given that just a few days earlier the world had celebrated International Human Rights Day and that seven years ago was the World Conference on Human Rights. At that conference, which included Balkan women who were in the midst of conflict at home, the concept of women's rights as human rights was officially accepted and the STAR network was formed shortly thereafter.

The Experience of Women in the Yugoslav Conflict

Ms. Lindsey described the findings of a two-year ICRC study that examined how conflict affects women, with particular

emphasis on Yugoslavia. The four conflicts over the past nine years in Yugoslavia have been both international and civil; the latter had significant impact on civilian populations, primarily women and children. Men and women often experienced the Yugoslav conflict differently. Mothers organized to demand their sons back from the army, for example, and while female rape was widely discussed, sexual violence against men was not. Conversely, the detention of men in camps was widely reported, but the detention of women was not.

The conflict was characterized by the separate treatment of women and men, evident in the issue of missing persons. Most of the missing (92 percent) was men, while most of those searching for the missing were women. Of the 7,482 persons missing from Srebrenica, 7,435 were men and only 47 women. Similarly, of the 3,577 missing in Kosovo, only 352 were women. Ms. Lindsey closed by emphasizing a major conference theme: women are harassed during a conflict, but display enormous strength—despite social constraints in women's roles—and create organizations that become forceful vehicles for advocacy on important issues.

Gender Issues during the Yugoslav Conflict

Ms. Skrabalo began by stating that, when examining the impact of the conflict on gender and the impact of gender on the conflict, it is sometimes difficult to discern which was the cause or consequence.

The mere physicality of war treats women's bodies differently than it does men's bodies. Rape was used to undermine the enemy's masculinity, making female bodies a tool of warring parties. Pro-nationalist policies, especially in Croatia and Serbia, encouraged women to repopulate their countries and renew their nation.

The first legitimization of women's political role was that of woman as mother. While mothers argued against conscription of their own sons, mother's organizations such as the "Wall of Love" failed to broaden their agenda to understand that mothers from both sides had common roles and problems.

War reinforced the notion of women as victims. Psychosocial programs targeted women and children and discriminated against men. Projects entrenched women as victims and allowed men to fade from view. This allowed space for domestic violence to grow.

Despite the special hardships women endured, Ms. Skrabalo acknowledged that she and other women benefited from war in some ways. Women profited from war by gaining international contacts, building skills, and by increasingly being accepted as breadwinners. Women also became new political actors. They founded peace advocacy and humanitarian organizations. The conflict helped galvanize the pre-war feminist movement. In addition, women have partially overcome the rural/urban divide. Nearly ten years after the war began, women have strong networks of communication among women's groups in all the successor states and in all sectors. In addition, the number of women in parliament has increased 300 percent and these women have extensive contact with international organizations and NGOs. Ms. Skrabalo concluded that the most important questions for the future are how to feminize politics and the economy and how to create a link between microcredit and large economic assistance schemes.

PRESENTATION OF THE REPORT, PART 2: WOMEN'S ORGANIZATIONS, EMPOWERMENT, AND INTERNATIONAL ASSISTANCE

Opening the second plenary session, Katherine Blakeslee, Director of the Office of Women in Development, began by noting that two common themes link the panel discussions. These are (1) the dichotomy of the victimization and the empowerment of women during conflict, and (2) the struggle to construct a framework for assistance to countries during the post-conflict transition.

The victimization of women during a conflict is often accompanied by an empowerment borne out of the necessity to survive. Forced by their harsh reality, women organize themselves to deliver relief, provide basic social services, promote peace, and rebuild their countries. The critical role women's organizations play in mitigating the effects of the conflict, promoting the peace process, and rebuilding the post-conflict society led USAID to investigate their achievements and failings and the role of international assistance in supporting these organizations.

The establishment of USAID's Office of Women in Development more than 25 years ago was in response to the institutional recognition that gender is a core development issue. Addressing gender in post-conflict interventions builds on the knowledge and experience gained in USAID's development work worldwide. The emergence of women's organizations provides an avenue for international donor assistance to support gender equity during the immediate post-conflict transition.

Growth of Women's Organizations

Dr. Kumar emphasized that the period of conflict and post-conflict transition is a time of social and political upheaval. Wars force enormous changes in the roles of women and the overall socio-cultural milieu. Many of these effects are harmful—the uprooting of families, violence, and displacement—but this period also provides new opportunities for women to promote change and equality. One indication of this is in the growth of women's organizations in post-conflict societies. The study found that active women's groups emerge in this environment, as seen in large numbers in Bosnia, Rwanda, Guatemala, and El Salvador and in smaller numbers in Cambodia and Georgia.

Generally, women's groups fall into three categories: grassroots, national, and umbrella organizations. Grassroots organizations are often created by teachers or mid-level government officials to help war victims, particularly children, the elderly, and the sexually abused. They often have no staff, no office, and no governing rules. Most donor assistance never reaches these groups.

National organizations, more closely model U.S. NGOs, typically have a constitution and board of governors. The leadership is usually composed of educated upper- or middle-class women who speak

the language of the international community. In some cases, their public recognition is as high or higher than that of local government officials. Because they can write solid proposals and communicate easily, get most of the donor assistance.

Umbrella groups, as the third category, consist of and thus assist these national organizations. Consequently, most aid goes to the middle- and upper class elite who is associated with national organizations and familiar with the existing power structures. This stands in stark contrast to our self-image in the international community as supporters of grassroots organizations.

International Support of Women's Organizations

The study found that three factors promote the growth of women's organizations in a post-conflict society: (1) social, political, and economic changes that create new opportunities; (2) the return of those who left during the war; and (3) political reforms that occur as part of the peace process. The conflict and post-conflict periods create openings for a broad range of activities, such as health promotion, income generation, assistance to the abused, democracy and human rights promotion, and furthering of gender equality. Despite the breadth of programs, women's organizations reached only a small percentage of the female population.

International assistance has had both positive and negative impacts. In many cases in the study, the international community supported the creation of new organizations. In fact, many organizations survived the conflict because of their connections to the United States. This often gave local associations legitimacy during a time of repression and allowed them to continue their activities. In the early post-

conflict phase, the study found that funding from the international community was especially critical, as this was commonly a time of drastic spending cuts and poor economic conditions. Women's groups learned crucial skills during this period, such as how to manage organizations, budget and account for funds, and submit proposals for funding.

Unfortunately, international assistance and contact with the international community also had negative effects. In Bosnia, for example, women established many innovative psychosocial programs with the assistance of the international community. Since the Dayton Peace Agreement, however, cuts in funding from international donors over time have gradually diminished the work of these organizations. International assistance priorities also clearly affect the activities of women's groups. In the early stages when local groups have a better understanding of the situation and better local contacts than do donors, there is greater mutual exchange. In this stage, donors compete to fund groups, giving local organizations more advantage. In the later stages, however, when donors are more familiar with the environment and their numbers begin to diminish, local organizations are forced to compete for funds.

Many organizations studied in the assessment endured constant uncertainty because of the absence of a long-term commitment by the international community. The study found that most projects received funding for six months to one year, but even those funded for longer periods were subject to annual renewal. Cumbersome reporting criteria doubled administrative requirements for the local association: reports for USAID itself and those for the USAID NGO implementing partner, for example.

Financial support often went to a limited number of local groups. A few

avored organizations frequently emerged among the international donors who competed to fund them in the absence of an overall strategy among donor agencies to distribute funds more evenly. The study suggests that the international community should continue to foster women's organizations but that donors should review funding and reporting requirements, especially during the post-conflict period. The much simpler documentation required by small foundations and NGOs can serve as a guide.

Sustainability, a major issue among donors, was problematic: the study suggests that 60-70 percent of women's organizations would not survive if funding stopped. Dr. Kumar suggested, however, that the sustainability of individual groups be separated from the sustainability of the sector as a whole. Organizations have a natural growth/death cycle; the disappearance of individual groups might not be an issue if new organizations emerged, preserving the skills in the process.

In closing, Dr. Kumar strongly recommended that USAID consider changing policy to permit funding of a portion of organizational core costs, while continuing to closely monitor expenditures. At the same time, donors should teach organizations how to raise local funds so they can continue to support their work when the international organizations leave. Many panelists and participants agreed with Dr. Kumar about the need to integrate women's groups into long-term economic programs and not ghettoize them into microfinance or humanitarian assistance programs. Study researchers found that many donor agencies did not have written policies regarding support for women and their organizations. Donors need to create these guidelines, Dr. Kumar concluded, which should address political empowerment, food and physical security, and control of productive resources, including access to knowledge and property

rights. These three elements constitute a strategic framework for international assistance outlined in the study that can help channel donor efforts.

Lessons and Recommendations for Donors

Continue to Foster Women's Organizations

USAID and other international agencies have supported the establishment and growth of women's organizations in post-conflict societies for a number of reasons. Women's organizations represent an essential element of civil society and, therefore, are essential to consolidate nascent democracies. Moreover, they help promote women's leadership, thereby contributing to gender equality. Finally, women's organizations are instrumental in channeling humanitarian and development assistance to targeted populations, particularly women. Despite obvious limitations, women's organizations have started contributing toward the achievement of all these objectives. Moreover, the findings also demonstrate that the international community can establish and foster women's organizations in post-conflict conditions.

USAID should continue to pursue its policy of fostering women's organizations as an integral part of its efforts to rehabilitate and reconstruct post-conflict societies. It also should encourage its development partners to support women's organizations.

Review Funding Requirements for Women's Organizations

Women's organizations encountered many problems in obtaining funds from USAID. First, USAID's requirements to qualify for contracts were quite stringent.

Although relaxed since April 2000, requirements still pose a challenge to most women's organizations. Second, many organizations viewed reporting requirements for projects and program activities as onerous. They were often required to provide information on the impact of projects, which was not easily available and required considerable time and resources to collect. Finally, USAID funded women's organizations through international private voluntary organizations, which also imposed their own requirements. Consequently, some organizations had to meet dual reporting requirements, those of USAID and its implementing partner.

USAID and its partners should seriously examine these problem areas and take steps to redress them. Wherever possible, it is advisable to impose minimal requirements and provide some funds to cover the costs of essential data collection and analysis.

Consider Multiyear Funding

A major problem faced by women's organizations in all case study countries was the limited duration of funding. As mentioned earlier, most of the projects funded under humanitarian assistance were for six to nine months only. The life span of other projects was longer, but subject to annual reviews. Women's organizations had to spend considerable time and resources on proposal writing. Moreover, even when a project was funded, an organization often would not be sure if its funds would be forthcoming the next year. Thus, a cloud of uncertainty hung over them.

USAID and other donors should consider longer funding horizons for projects being implemented by women's organizations. The assurance of long-term assistance will boost staff morale and help build institutional capacity.

Promote Sustainability of Women's Organizations

International donors and women's organizations generally agree that the majority of women's organizations cannot survive without international assistance. Most post-conflict societies face severe shortages of economic resources. They lack a well-developed private sector, which could fund such organizations. Moreover, women's organizations have limited technical and managerial capacity to diversify funding sources.

To promote the sustainability of some women's organizations, USAID could (1) consider funding a portion of core costs, in addition to program costs, for a limited period of time; (2) provide technical assistance to improve management; and (3) help them become self-reliant by improving skills in strengthening local political networks, advocacy and fundraising, coalition building, and networking with governmental and non-governmental organizations.

Integrate Women's Organizations in Large-Scale Development Initiatives

The international community has tended to treat women's organizations as peripheral and not mainstream because of their gender focus and small size. It generally entrusts them with initiatives that focus exclusively on women. It is important to move beyond this tendency for two reasons. First, a gender framework should inform all development projects-not merely those initiatives that focus on women. Second, integration of women's organizations in large development initiatives can benefit them by strengthening their institutional capabilities.

USAID and other donors should explore the possibility of integrating

women's organizations into large-scale development initiatives in post-conflict societies. Such integration could involve (1) awarding them contracts for

development initiatives and (2) encouraging large development organizations to include them as partners in bidding for international contracts.

SUMMARIES OF THE PANEL DISCUSSIONS, PART 2

Women's Organizations in Rwanda and Cambodia

Katherine Crawford, Democratic Republic of Congo Desk Officer at USAID, chaired this panel. The presenters were Hannah Baldwin, USAID's Democracy and Governance Team Leader in Guinea and Judy Benjamin, Senior Technical Advisor on Gender for the Women's Commission for Refugee Women and Children.

This panel reviewed the development and role of women's organizations in Rwanda and Cambodia during and after the conflicts.

Ms. Crawford cautioned donors on two issues regarding international assistance to women's organizations in post-conflict settings. First, donors sometimes wrongly assume that women's groups are inherently morally or politically superior to other associations simply because of their gender. In Rwanda, for example, women who had held power were equally complicit in the genocide. Second, women's associations are often "infanticized" and treated as charity cases. They are not held accountable for effective use of resources, which promotes an atmosphere of dependency. Donors should be more willing to assess critically the capacity of women's groups to achieve clearly articulated objectives and to hold them accountable for results.

Women's Organizations in Rwanda

Ms. Baldwin discussed the findings from her evaluation of the 1994-1999 Rwanda Women in Transition (WIT) Project. Women's groups flourished prior to the 1994 genocide, but membership dropped dramatically after the conflict. The WIT project helped to address this by forming women's associations in 86 communes. While memberships could include men, only women could be elected as association presidents. The WIT project targeted women, the handicapped, and other vulnerable groups.

Based on its organizational priorities, each women's organization designed its own WIT project to address one of three concerns in need of attention following the violence: poverty reduction, home building, or food security. Each association president submitted a draft activity proposal to her commune's Women's Committee. Upon approval, the president received training in bookkeeping and management, opened an association bank account, and obtained project materials in the capital. The president was also responsible for reporting on project achievements to donors and government agencies.

The program achievements exceeded expectations. A livestock project that began as goat distributions for dairy and soil fertilizer, for example, quickly evolved into a goat-banking scheme. Under the project, women received a goat "on loan" and repaid

the association with its first offspring, which another group member received. House construction was also successful: the average cost of an association house was \$800 per unit, compared to the \$3,000 average incurred by other housing projects. Moreover, every home built with WIT funding was fully occupied. This can be attributed to the high degree of participant decision-making in housing location, orientation, and configuration.

One measure of WIT's success was the number of association members subsequently elected to public office, both for seats reserved for women (Rwanda adopted parliamentary quotas reserving specific seats for women) and for open seats. Ms. Baldwin noted that economic empowerment supports and promotes political empowerment. The WIT-initiated women's associations encouraged women's political engagement, served to reduce community tensions, and fostered peace. The U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees office recognized its success by modeling its own project after WIT.

Women's Organizations in Cambodia

Ms. Benjamin contrasted the Cambodian women's organizations with those established under the Rwanda WIT project. Most Cambodian associations were situated in the capital, and relatively few were located in the outlying provinces. Imitating their international sponsors, these organizations often had large administrative budgets and staffs, modern equipment, and four-wheel drive vehicles. Frequently directed by charismatic leaders who were reluctant to delegate and depended on donor-driven agendas, these groups suffered many of the problems Dr. Kumar described in the morning plenary session.

Study researchers endeavored to determine whether these associations could empower their members and help them

reshape the structure of gender relations in post-conflict Cambodia. The researchers found that, despite organizational and programmatic weaknesses, women's associations were, in fact, effective at delivering assistance and empowering their members. This was a big step in Cambodia, where autonomous civil society associations were prohibited during the Khmer Rouge government and further hindered by a dense network of informers among the civilian population.

The strength of women's organizations was attributable in part to the fact that many returning refugees and expatriate Cambodians brought a familiarity with the Western notion of an active civil society and an understanding of gender equality. Many also brought organizational and managerial experience gained abroad. International donors provided substantial financial resources to local organizations, including all women's groups. These groups generally formed around three types of activity: social services, including advocacy; democracy-building such as lobbying for government attention to women's issues, public education, and advocacy campaigns; and income generation, especially microcredit.

Some of these activities reflected the weaknesses of donor-driven agendas and associations' failure to "audit" the needs of their members. Overall, however, the organizations were successful in addressing post-conflict needs, especially democracy building and public advocacy. Ms. Benjamin gave the example of local advocates forming a coalition of 15 NGOs to combat domestic violence, an issue driven purely by the local agenda. Other domestic violence initiatives led local law enforcement agencies to request training in prevention and intervention techniques. Income generation activities, especially microcredit financing, were both popular and effective methods of improving women's economic status.

Ms. Benjamin concluded that the associations need better management training and mentoring by their international sponsors. These donors, in turn, should invest in staff development and require local implementing NGOs to develop exit plans for sustaining their activities after international donors have withdrawn.

Women's Organizations in Guatemala and El Salvador

Angela King, Special Adviser to the United Nations Secretary-General on Gender Issues and Advancement of Women, chaired this panel. Presenters were Virginia Garrard-Burnett, Senior Lecturer at the University of Texas in Austin and Kelley Ready, Visiting Assistant Professor at Northeastern University.

The panel discussed the historical origins of women's organizations in El Salvador and Guatemala and their evolution from civil conflict.

Women's Organizations in Guatemala

Dr. Garrard-Burnett discussed the particular impact of the 36-year-long war on indigenous women in Guatemala. While the government military and security forces killed both men and women, they primarily attacked the indigenous population, creating a "double indemnity" for indigenous women who represented 25 percent of the war victims. In addition, women lost husbands, brothers, and fathers, resulting in the formation of many women-headed households and creating "Cities of Women." In addition, the rural to urban divide separated women geographically. Returning refugee women who had learned Spanish in the camps found the rural-urban differences greater than the male-female division. Finally, the political milieu offered little

support to women. The 19 accords that dealt with gender, including basic rights of women and judicial rights of women to own land, received little recognition.

Two kinds of associations developed in Guatemala, each originated by indigenous women mobilized by the war. One type was more formal, while the other was the informal grassroots organization characterized by open-ended participation.

Both kinds of organizations targeted four specific needs of women. First, they supported widows in crisis, lost families, and ostracized women. Second, they assisted women and their families who had moved as refugees to Mexico to escape the violence and trained them in advocacy skills. Third, regional and language-based self-help cooperatives advocated for human rights, promoted education, and provided psychological healing (some of these had ties with international organizations). Finally, they helped families of the disappeared. This type of assistance started clandestinely and evolved into a formal body.

These organizations gave indigenous women political influence for the first time. Officially, however, these women still have little representation in politics. Although 27 percent of the national legislature currently consists of women and seven state governors are women, most are not war victims, the poor, dispossessed, or indigenous, but the elite, Ladino women. While donors have supported women's political empowerment, they have not been effective in differentiating along language and cultural lines. Moreover, donors tended to channel funds to only the most popular groups. "Organizations themselves need more voice in the process of funding; they need to establish priorities that donors can respond to rather than vice versa," Dr. Garrard-Burnett concluded.

Women's Organizations in El Salvador

Dr. Ready described the long history of El Salvadoran women's organizations dating back to the 1932 uprising. In the more recent civil war, women's organizing followed the FMLN's opposition to the government, forcing it underground.

Through women's committees, women addressed such issues as housing, child support, reproductive health, HIV, non-traditional trade, literacy, political participation, and human rights abuses.

Women formed nine different women's committees in the 1980s as offshoots of the main FMLN-supported organizations. Though they were confronted with both sexism and a lack of access to power in these organizations, they established gender-oriented projects to create opportunities for women and funded them through donor financing. These projects created the opportunity for women to involve themselves in the peace process outside of the opposition party and the political arena in general. They also allowed women to provide services to those affected by the war through both government and opposition agencies.

Eventually, the nine women's committees began to take on a "feminist face." Reflecting the single mothers, poor, and illiterate women members, the groups tackled such issues as domestic violence, child support, and political participation. They subsequently became marginalized by the main party organization, though ensuing funding from Latin American, European, and US agencies allowed these groups to develop their own autonomy. Donors tend to "privilege women who are better organized," said Dr. Ready, and they need to be better about informing organizations about opportunities for funding and to simplify the paperwork process.

Women, Communication, and the Media

The chair of this panel was Annette Sheckler, Director of GenderReach Project at Development Alternatives, Inc., which is funded by USAID's Office of Women in Development. Presenters included Dyan Mazurana, Professor at the University of Montana, and Greg Pirio, Board Member of the Institute for Media Development.

This panel discussed the role of information technology and media in conflict and its impact on women in general.

Media's Role in Conflict and Peace-Building

Dr. Pirio began by quoting Adolf Hitler, a master of manipulative communication who said, "Radio can be a terrible weapon in the hands of those who know how to use it." Radio and other media have long been used to foment violence, as evidenced in the role radio played in promoting ethnic cleansing in Bosnia, Rwanda, and Zaire. Media can manipulate fears and promote violence or can be educating, empowering, and inspire peaceful revolution.

Media typically are authoritarian in the pre-conflict and conflict stages. Media are used to prepare society for war by dehumanizing others; framing threats; and defining and identifying the enemy, which, in turn, sets the stage for sexual violence. Yet media can also counter efforts to foment violence, mitigate hate propaganda, and promote human rights. Women's voices heard through the media, for example, can discourage violence.

According to Dr. Pirio, media reflect changes as society moves through the transition period after a conflict. During the

conflict, media are often authoritarian, manipulative, and one-dimensional, and serve as tools of social control. In the post-conflict phase, however, media can become more participatory, empowering, interactive, and serve as tools for social mediation. However, the male-dominated authoritarian model, often, continue into the post-conflict stage. Dr. Pirio recommended that donors encourage greater inclusion and consider women's access to media in post-conflict programming. In Angola, for instance, Voice of America created a series on the problems that women heads of households experienced. Topics of discussion included vulnerability to robbery and difficulty providing supervision to children. Donors can support the positive effects of media by offering subsidies to establish radio stations, funding the production and distribution of media programs, and supporting the creation of alternative media. Finally, journalism awards and other similar incentives can spur better reporting, he suggested.

The Use of Media Techniques to Build Peace

Dr. Mazurana discussed her study with International Alert on using the media to promote peace. In the Balkans, Serbia, Croatia, and, to a lesser extent, Bosnia, all used state television to fan the flames of war and violence. Nightly news showed frequent images of dead bodies, and various parties manipulated images to promote their side. Serbs, for example, manipulated television pictures of Serbs raping Muslims to show Croats raping Serb women. The regional news generated such anger that women often left the house during the evening news to avoid the domestic violence that frequently followed.

International Alert uses modern forms of media, including an interactive website, compact discs, and e-mail, as well

as radio and television to bring women to the peace table and to help them advocate for women's rights and gender justice. In the Balkans, a Bosnian women's group, Medica, which works with abused women and children, uses a coded language on television to advertise services without stigmatizing users. The Croatian women's human rights group, "Be Active, Be Emancipated" (B.a.B.e.) used the Internet to network, supporting Medica's recent work in Albanian refugee camps. The Albanian Women's Center in Tirana also used the Internet to support Medica and to disseminate information about breastfeeding and security. Similarly, the Autonomous Women's Center in Serbia used the Internet to provide a feminist analysis of the situation in Serbia as well as to put out alerts and calls for support. In areas of limited infrastructure, however, Internet use is limited.

Although women's groups and journalists can be useful in promoting better coverage of women in the mainstream media, rather than expend efforts trying to influence media coverage by others, many women's groups seek to control their own information dissemination. Dr. Mazurana also noted that media training efforts often bypass women. Training is crucial to linking the ability of women to produce, access, and use media techniques to their success in peace building. Dr. Mazurana suggested donors consider obstacles to participation such as illiteracy and insecurity when attempting to increase women's access to training.

Livelihood Issues for Women

Mary Knox, Deputy Director of USAID's Office of Women in Development, chaired the panel. The presenters were Sue Lautze, Director of the Livelihoods Initiative Program at Tufts University's Feinstein International Famine Center, and Angela

Raven-Roberts, Director of Research and Training Programs at the Feinstein International Famine Center.

Ms. Lautze and Ms. Raven-Roberts conducted a joint presentation, offering a critique of the theory and practice of development and post-conflict social reconstruction.

The Limits of Traditional Development

Ms. Raven-Roberts began by suggesting that traditional models of development rest on faulty assumptions about the role of international capital in mobilizing markets and reducing poverty. The traditional theory of development assumes that “enough money over enough time will produce development,” she said. Ms. Lautze observed that development experts have overseen a 30-year experiment in the relationship between markets and states, with privatization and resource exploitation fueling development strategies. These strategies reflect an assumption that economic democracy inevitably leads to political democracy, an assumption that is not always valid, she said.

A close look at livelihoods exposes the intellectual limits of traditional thinking. Ms. Raven-Roberts defined livelihoods as “the means by which people survive over time.” Violence affects women’s livelihoods in several ways: it increases women’s workloads, changes the division of labor between men and women, diminishes the social networks that typically offer individuals and families important means of support, decreases women’s access to resources, and increases poverty. At the same time, the dramatic demographic changes created by violence can create new opportunities for women.

The presenters’ view centered on the notion that conflict often serves to broaden

multinational corporations’ access to natural resources. They questioned the linear perspective of violent social change, which recognizes only organized conflict that is followed by recovery, a resumption of development, and future growth. In contrast, the livelihood analysis of violence that the presenters promoted is based on the idea that “complex social emergencies require strategic assessment, analysis, and interventions to help people manage the social tradeoffs.” These tradeoffs occur as they cope with the impacts of conflict, “while preserving their means of getting by over time,” explained Ms. Raven-Roberts.

The presenters suggested that post-conflict reconstruction concentrate more on the country’s relationship with international capital and multinational corporations. International donors should accept the need for significantly higher levels of direct investment, along the scale of the Marshall Plan of post-Second World War European redevelopment. According to Ms. Raven-Roberts, social and economic reconstruction are interconnected, requiring greater focus on quantifying women’s informal sector work. This is particularly important since citizenship is tied closely to economic participation, and women’s participation in the informal sector usually goes unnoticed.

In addition, donors and developing countries should emphasize democracy building. The livelihood perspective requires a strong state not just for the administration of public affairs but also for improving women’s status in society. The state enforces the terms of citizenship, and women have the most to gain from the enforcement of more equitable definitions of citizenship. These are the basic ingredients of a rights-based rather than a resource-based approach to development that avoids conflict, minimizes violence, and encourages cultural, economic, and community revitalization, Ms. Raven-Roberts concluded.

Psychosocial Healing and Trauma

Susan Merrill, Deputy Director for USAID's Center for Development Information and Evaluation, chaired this panel. Kim Maynard, Consultant to USAID, and Mike Wessells, Professor at Randolph-Macon College, were the presenters.

This panel took a broad view of psychosocial programs, emphasizing the integration of local culture and the long-term healing process.

Using Traditional and Indigenous Healing Methods

Dr. Wessells discouraged a medical approach to psychosocial issues, emphasizing instead the need to incorporate indigenous healing methods into psychosocial programs. In Angola, for example, participants in a capacity-building project learned through a situation analysis the importance of identifying traditional beliefs. This resulted in small group learning and dialogue that improved self-esteem and planning. Women and youth joined the effort, and the process of mobilization and physical reconstruction resulted in the additional benefit of emotional healing.

Another example was a joint Christian Children's Fund and UNICEF program to assist in the reintegration of underage soldiers in Angola. Local healers performed communal healing rituals to help children symbolically exit the soldier's life and reintegrate into the community. These healing rituals had positive results, especially when conducted together with other reintegration support. Dr. Wessells noted that these two programs demonstrate the need to incorporate local populations' interpretation of events to have effective programs.

Dr. Wessells acknowledged that not enough research exists to understand the effects of psychosocial programs in post-conflict settings. The aid community knows "just enough to be dangerous" as they rush from crisis to crisis, often with little understanding of the situation, he said.

Considering the Social Healing Process

Dr. Maynard offered a framework from the broader perspective of social rehabilitation. The international community has only recently begun to examine the long-term healing process that leads to stability and peace. Similarly, practitioners are learning more about the effects of conflict and the links among psychosocial recovery, community rebuilding, and reconciliation and the role of outsiders in this essentially intimate and personal process.

Dr. Maynard described five phases of healing that support a framework for guiding appropriate assistance, emphasizing women's needs. The first phase is establishing physical and food security, which are essential to recovery. Some examples of programs that can promote women's security are food distributions, reunification of families, income generation for women, and domestic violence programs. The second phase of healing is communalization and bereavement. This stage involves recounting and sharing war experiences with others and is critical to rehabilitation, yet is often overlooked. Storytelling, counseling, and trauma training can all help in this process, whether carried out in women's support groups and networks or more broadly. In addition, truth commissions can help create a communal sense of events.

The third phase involves rebuilding trust and the capacity to trust. This stage involves re-humanizing others and

rebuilding relationships. Programs appropriate for this stage include those that promote inter-group contact. The fourth phase is re-establishing social ethics after the breakdown of moral principles during conflict. This period offers an opportunity to change the social rules of behavior from the pre-conflict period, including, for example, more gender equality. Examples of programs useful at this stage are women's rights education, legal reform to include gender considerations, incrimination of sexual offenders, and media programs supporting national dialogue on women's roles.

The final stage is building democratic decision making, supporting broad-based and representative community participation. Advocacy training for women's groups, political party development, support for a women's political agenda, and further media development can all assist in this effort.

Dr. Maynard offered several program considerations for donors to support the healing process. For instance, aid organizations should conduct assessments, evaluations, and analyses from a gender perspective and maintain a long-term optic throughout their projects. Additionally, programs should center on relationships and empowerment, emphasizing process as much as product. They should also maximize participation, especially that of women, and build on local structures, cultures, beliefs, and efforts. Finally, Dr. Maynard recommended that aid organizations remain flexible and be able to adjust their programming according to community decisions and changing contexts.

Women in Afghanistan

The Director of the Disaster Response and Mitigation Division in USAID's Office of Foreign Disaster Assistance, Elizabeth Kvitashvili, chaired the panel on Women in Afghanistan. The two presenters were Judy

Benjamin, Senior Technical Advisor in Gender for the Women's Commission for Refugee Women and Children and Sima Wali, President of Refugee Women in Development.

The discussion centered on the especially difficult challenges facing Afghan women: those living in Afghanistan are limited by the repressive Taliban rulers, while women in refugee camps in Pakistan and Iran are hampered by their refugee status.

Ms. Kvitashvili noted that sanctions against terrorism and human rights violations, including those of the Taliban, may affect the UN role and that of NGOs in Afghanistan. The sanctions will likely lead to the departure of implementing organizations, leaving few outside observers to monitor human rights abuses. The need for donors to support community-based NGOs is urgent, since the skill level of these organizations is inadequate, she said. Capacity-building support of local NGOs is needed to enable them to continue working in spite of the absence of international agencies and organizations.

The Needs of Women-Oriented Afghan NGOs

Ms. Wali discussed the work of Refugee Women in Development (REFWID), which began assisting Afghan women in 1982 in response to massive gender-specific human rights abuses. Much of the aid consisted of rehabilitation of war-affected, refugee Afghan women in the United States. REFWID also conducts advocacy and action programs for Afghan women refugees in Pakistan. More recently, REFWID carried out a formal needs assessment of women-oriented Afghan NGOs in Pakistan. Most provide humanitarian services and skills-building assistance to address the major local issues of poverty, inadequate

education, and unemployment. Similar NGOs are operating clandestinely inside Afghanistan.

The assessment concluded that these NGOs are constrained by inadequate funds, training, and technical assistance, as well as by the lack of legal refugee status for NGO members. Overcoming these constraints requires increased NGO human resource capacity, more educational opportunities, and greater planning and management skills, according to the assessment results. The assessment also called for sustained international pressure on the Taliban and greater international trust of the Afghan NGO community.

While the UN sanctions are an attempt to inhibit arms procurement, they also hurt community-based organizations and essentially close the border with Pakistan. In addition, “the politics of aid stemming from the war of the *Mujahadeen* during 1979-89 has been to not build local NGOs. There was no support for capacity building of Afghan-led NGOs. Because of that, the situation of women deteriorated over the years,” Ms. Wali said. Where they do survive, women-focused NGOs offer such aid as computer training, handicraft training, skills-building and income generation and have the support of the community at large, especially men.

Supporting Women’s NGOs

Ms. Benjamin discussed the Women’s Commission for Refugee Women and Children and its work with Afghan women and children both inside and outside Afghanistan. The Taliban’s strict interpretation of Islamic law forbids young women and girls from attending school and from many areas of work. Association with anything Western also is prohibited for all Afghans. Because of repression and war perpetrated by this regime, more than 3 million Afghan women, men, and children became refugees in Iran and Pakistan.

Most donors working with Afghan women, including the Women’s Commission, generally follow the UN guidelines that promote women’s participation. International assistance to Afghan women’s NGOs in Pakistan includes human rights training, microcredit linked to health support of rural women, and health classes for women. In Peshawar, Pakistan, refugee women are members of local NGOs and have their own website. In Afghanistan, however, while donors provide clandestine support to NGOs in both rural and urban areas for home schooling, measures to assist women and children in-country are short-term and stop-gap due to the political conditions. No woman can work for a foreign organization in Afghanistan.

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS AND CONCLUSION

The following are six of the most prominent themes emerging from the conference.

Disruption of Social Order

An underpinning theme in the conference discussions was that the destruction of social order, more than conflict itself, had the most significant impact on women. The obliteration of social rules of conduct, for example, contributed to violence, rape, insecurity, and trauma. Similarly, the absence of men because of combat resulted in large numbers of female heads of households, inadequate farm labor, and lack of protection. In spite of these circumstances, however, women consistently remained resilient. Furthermore, the breakdown of society opened opportunities for women's leadership, employment, and political empowerment and for the growth of women's organizations.

Four Primary Roles of Women

Conference participants also discussed the role of gender in conflict, pointing out women's multiple and conflicting functions. Four roles emerged. First, in many but not all of the conflicts, women aided and abetted the fighting by becoming combatants themselves, as in El Salvador and Georgia, or by supporting combatants, partaking in violence, or encouraging the hostilities. A second and more stereotypical female role was that of the peacemaker.

Third, women were clearly victims in all of the conflicts and suffered in different ways than men from the violence. They were subject to rape, increased poverty, loss of male relatives, becoming heads of households, degraded social status, domestic violence, loss of property rights, and slavery. The final role of women was that of beneficiary. These women gained from new opportunities for political participation, exposure to the concept of women's rights, skills training such as literacy programs, and organizational capacity building. Women often had multiple roles within the same conflict.

Donor Impact

Another theme of the conference was the impact of foreign organizations and environments on women. This had both positive and negative repercussions. On the one hand, in countries such as El Salvador, Guatemala, and Cambodia, training and skills development gained in refugee camps increased women's ability to organize, manage, and earn income upon return. Moreover, Cambodian women brought home a familiarity with the Western notion of civil society and an understanding of gender equality gained while in asylum. On the other hand, however, donors' favoritism toward local organizations that emulated Western NGOs caused some of these organizations to adopt Western cultural habits, language, and presentation styles at the expense of their own.

Economic Recovery

Economic recovery proved to be a central point for discussion during the conference because poverty tends to affect women disproportionately. Although the economy may deteriorate rapidly with the escalation of violence, it may well have been in poor condition before the conflict erupted. Nevertheless, many discussions revolved around the importance of income generation and assisting women—female heads of households, in particular—through skills training, micro-financing, livelihood enhancement, changing property laws, and other targeted programs. To improve the prospects of women's economic recovery, one panelist recommended donors support a “middle ground” to bridge their more typical microcredit programs with large economic aid programs.

Social Rehabilitation

The destruction of traditional behavioral norms during conflict provoked actions such as the raping and killing of elderly women in former Yugoslavia, massive sexual abuse throughout most of the conflicts, and other demonstrations of disrespect for social rules. Therefore, discussions underscored the need to re-establish standards for behavior by developing domestic violence programs, as occurred in Cambodia; protecting children from abuse; demobilizing child soldiers; and using local practices in psychosocial recovery programs.

Importance of Supporting Women's Organizations

The importance and nature of donors' support to women's organizations were primary themes throughout the conference. Rather than advocating for greater integration of women into what has

traditionally been men's domain, the discussions instead centered on a “separate but equal” approach. The issues of funding for women's organizations, for example, and supporting women's political platforms received more attention than inclusion in male-dominated structures.

According to the study and the panelists, women's organizations tend to grow during and after conflict, taking three forms: grassroots groups, national associations, and umbrella organizations. Although donors believe they are supporters of grassroots organizations, in reality they primarily fund national associations. These groups are managed by the middle- and upper class elite who understand the power structures. An oft-repeated element of this was the need to revisit donors' institutional relationships with local organizations. Improving outreach, funding and reporting timetables, and administrative requirements would make it easier for all women's associations, including grassroots and smaller organizations, to benefit from donor support.

Lessons Learned

The conclusions reached by the conference participants incorporated the fact that women's post-conflict recovery is society's recovery. When women increase their incomes, re-establish social services, train the public on human rights, and conduct civic education, all of society benefits. Areas of most concern to participants were security, including food security, protection, domestic violence, crime, and inter-group violence; political empowerment at all levels; economic rehabilitation; and psychosocial recovery.

The lessons learned from the conference centered on two primary themes: capacity/skills- building and donor support. Under the first theme, several panelists

recommended that donors offer more skills and management training both in refugee camps and in the home country, invest in staff development, and mentor organizations and women. This will encourage greater political participation, develop leadership qualities, promote self-confidence, increase capacity to meet needs, and enable women to continue their work without international agency assistance. One panel, for example, stated that training is crucial to linking women's ability to produce, access, and use media techniques to their success in peace building. The introduction of new skills training, however, should not preclude the use of indigenous methodologies, which should be fostered and used in all forms of programming.

The second primary theme of the lessons learned was improving donor support for women's organizations. The need for a framework for assistance was observed throughout the conference, and several

models were suggested. A fundamental issue was the need to adjust the funding and reporting requirements to reflect the situation within local women's organizations and to support the long-term nature of post-conflict programs. Many panelists noted that funding should be multi-year, rather than short term, and it should support portions of the organizations' core costs. In addition, donors should drastically simplify their application and reporting procedures. Furthermore, the organizations themselves should have more voice in the funding process, which may help to channel more funds toward grassroots and smaller associations. Donors should also consider community-based approaches, especially when aiding internally displaced populations. To adjust to these parameters, donors need to create guidelines for supporting women and women's organizations in post-conflict settings. This, in turn, requires greater research on the issue of gender and conflict.

ANNEX 1

CONFERENCE ON INTRASTATE CONFLICT AND WOMEN: AGENDA

CONFERENCE ON INTRASTATE CONFLICT AND WOMEN TUESDAY, December 12th, 2000		
Opening Session		
9:30-10:00	Chair	Thomas H. Fox , Assistant Administrator, Bureau for Policy and Program Coordination, USAID
	Address	J. Brady Anderson , USAID Administrator
10:00-11:15	Presentation of USAID's assessment findings, "Impacts of Intrastate Conflict on Women and Gender Relations: Implications for International Assistance"	
	Chair	Barbara Turner , Acting Assistant Administrator, Bureau for Global Programs, Field Support and Research, USAID
	Presenter	Krishna Kumar , Senior Social Scientist, Center for Development Information and Evaluation, USAID
Genocide and Women in Rwanda		
	Chair	Richard McCall , Senior Advisor to the Administrator, USAID
	Presenters	Allison Des Forges , Consultant, Human Rights Watch Catharine Newbury , Professor, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill
Effects of Cambodian Conflicts on Women and Gender Relations		
11:30-12:45	Chair	Jean Du Rette , Chief of the Program and Operations Assessment Division, Center for Development Information and Evaluation, USAID
	Presenters	Hannah Baldwin , Guinea Mission, USAID Judy Ledgerwood , Assistant Professor, Northern Illinois University
Internally Displaced Women and Women's Organizations in Georgia		
	Chair	George Ingram , Deputy Assistant Administrator, Bureau for Europe and Eurasia, USAID
	Presenters	Alice Morton , Senior Evaluation Specialist, TvT Associates, Inc. Thomas Buck , Research Analyst, Academy for Educational Development
Effects of Guatemalan and El Salvadoran Conflicts on Women		
	Chair	Sally Yudelman , Senior Fellow, International Center for Research On Women
	Presenters	Virginia Garrard-Burnett , Senior Lecturer, University of Texas, Austin Kelley Ready , Visiting Assistant Professor, Northeastern University
Reintegrating Refugees and Internally Displaced Women		
2:00-3:15	Chair	Guenet Guebre-Christos , Regional Representative, United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
	Presenters	Roberta Cohen , Co-director, Project on Internal Displacement, The Brookings Institution Patricia Weiss Fagen , Senior Fellow, Institute for the Study of International Migration, Georgetown University
Women, Peace and Security (Canceled due to inclement weather)		
	Chair	Selma Ndeyapo Ashipala-Musavyi , Minister Counsellor, Permanent Mission of the Republic of Namibia to the United Nations
	Presenters	Jennifer F. Klot , Senior Governance Adviser, United Nations Development Fund for Women Maarit P. Kohonen , Human Rights Officer, United Nations Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights
Problems of Separated Children and Child Soldiers		
	Chair	Katherine Blakeslee , Director, Office of Women in Development, USAID
	Presenters	Neil Boothby , Director, Children in Crisis, Save the Children Susan McKay , Professor, University of Wyoming
3:30-4:45	Impact of Conflict on Gender in the Former Yugoslavia	
	Chair	Lael Stegall , President, Social Change International
	Presenters	Marina Skrabalo , Program Assistant, STAR Network of World Learning Charlotte Lindsey , Director, Women in War Project, International Committee of the Red Cross

CONFERENCE ON INTRASTATE CONFLICT AND WOMEN WEDNESDAY, December 13th, 2000		
9:30-10:45	Plenary Session – Presentation of USAID’s assessment findings, “Women’s Organizations, Empowerment and International Assistance”	
	Chair Presenter	Katherine Blakeslee , Director, Office of Women in Development, USAID Krishna Kumar , Senior Social Scientist, Center for Development Information and Evaluation, USAID
11:00-12:15	Women’s Organizations in Rwanda and Cambodia	
	Chair Presenters	Katherine Crawford , Congo Desk Officer, Bureau for Africa, USAID Hannah Baldwin , Guinea Mission, USAID Judy Benjamin , Director of Protection and Participation Project, Women’s Commission for Refugee Women and Children
	Women’s Organizations in Guatemala and El Salvador	
	Chair Presenters	Angela E.V. King , Special Adviser to the Secretary-General on Gender Issues and Advancement of Women, United Nations Virginia Garrard-Burnett , Senior Lecturer, University of Texas, Austin Kelley Ready , Visiting Assistant Professor, Northeastern University
	Women, Communication and the Media	
	Chair Presenters	Annette Sheckler , Director, GenderReach, Development Alternatives, Inc. Dyan Mazurana , Professor, University of Montana Greg Pirio , Board Member, Institute for Media Development
1:15-2:30	Livelihood Issues for Women	
	Chair Presenters	Mary Knox , Deputy Director, Office of Women in Development, USAID Sue Lautze , Director, Livelihoods Initiatives Program, Feinstein Famine Center, Tufts University Angela Raven-Roberts , Director, Research and Training Programs, Feinstein Famine Center, Tufts University
	Psychosocial Trauma and Healing	
	Chair Presenters	Susan Merrill , Deputy Director, Center for Development Information and Evaluation, USAID Kim Maynard , Consultant, USAID Mike Wessells , Professor, Randolph-Macon College
	Women in Afghanistan	
	Chair Presenters	Elisabeth Kvitashvili , Director, Disaster Response and Mitigation Division, Office of Foreign Disaster Assistance, USAID Judy Benjamin , Senior Technical Advisor on Gender, Women’s Commission for Refugee Women and Children Sima Wali , President, Refugee Women in Development
2:30-3:15	Chair Presenters	Katherine Blakeslee , Director, Office of Women in Development, USAID Richard McCall , Senior Advisor to the Administrator, USAID Gerald Britan , Director, Center for Development Information and Evaluation, Bureau for Policy and Program Coordination, USAID

ANNEX 2

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